

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 240096

NODIS

FOR AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, BC, SF, RH

SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT KHAMA

1. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT KHAMA.

2. QUOTE: DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I GREATLY APPRECIATED THE REPLY TO MY SEPTEMBER 25 MESSAGE WHICH YOUR GOVERNMENT GAVE OUR CHARGE YESTERDAY. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE BE CLEAR WITH ONE ANOTHER IF THE PROCESS TOWARDS A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM IS TO CONTINUE ON THE COURSE WE BOTH BELIEVE POSSIBLE.

3. I MUST TELL YOU IN ALL FRANKNESS THAT WHILE WE PUT THE BEST POSSIBLE FACE ON IT, WE WERE DISAPPOINTED BY THE LUSAKA MEETING. I AM WRITING PRESIDENTS KAUNDA AND NYERERE SEPARATELY TO GIVE THE REASONS FOR MY DISAPPOINTMENT BUT I WANTED YOU TO UNDERSTAND OUR CONCERNS.

4. THE STATEMENT WHICH WAS ISSUED IN LUSAKA DID NOT REFER
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TO A MAJOR U.S. INITIATIVE. IT LEFT THE IMPRESSION THAT

THE WHOLE SCHEME HAD BEEN TURNED DOWN AND ONLY A FEW INITIATES WILL UNDERSTAND THAT ITS MAJOR ELEMENTS HAD BEEN IN FACT ACCEPTED IN LUSAKA. THERE IS THE IMPLICATION THAT

THE ENTIRE SCHEME WAS A SMITH PROPOSAL WHEN IN FACT IT HAS BEEN IMPOSED ON HIM BY MASSIVE U.S. PRESSURE.

5. I AM CONCERNED THAT IF THERE IS FURTHER NEGATIVE REACTION IN PUBLIC TO THE PROPOSALS WHICH WE ADVANCED, SMITH AND THE DIE-HARDS IN SALISBURY WILL HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO BACK AWAY FROM THEIR COMMITMENT. I AM ALSO RELIABLY INFORMED THAT PRIME MINISTER VORSTER IS UNDER GREAT PRESSURE IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE PUBLIC STAND TAKEN BY THE FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS IS SERVING TO SOLIDIFY SOUTH AFRICAN DOMESTIC OPPOSITION.

6. THE BASIC FRAMEWORK OF THE RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT WAS DISCUSSED WITH PRESIDENTS KAUNDA AND NYERERE IN DETAIL. WE MADE POINT THREE REGARDING THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT AS DETAILED AS WE DID--NOT TO KEEP THE SALISBURY AUTHORITIES IN POWER BUT PRECISELY FOR THE OPPOSITE REASON: TO MAKE THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT AN IRREVOCABLE BREAK TOWARD FULL MAJORITY RULE AND TO DEPRIVE SMITH OF THE OPPORTUNITY TO HAGGLE AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE. THE PRESIDENTS ASSURED ME THEY HAD NO OBJECTION IN PRINCIPLE TO THESE POINTS. AS RESULT OF THAT REACTION WE TOLD IAN SMITH TO GO AHEAD AND MAKE THE ANNOUNCEMENT HE DELIVERED ON SEPTEMBER 24.

7. WE BOTH KNOW THAT THIS PROCESS CANNOT SUCCEED WITHOUT CONTINUED U.S. PRESSURE. WE CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO MAINTAIN THE PRESSURE WE HAVE BROUGHT TO BEAR ON THE SALISBURY AUTHORITIES AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IF THE POSITIONS WHICH ARE ADOPTED IN PUBLIC ARE INSENSITIVE TO OUR PROBLEMS.

8. WE MUST KEEP IN MIND WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED. YOU ASKED FOR AND WE OBTAINED A COMMITMENT TO MAJORITY RULE IN TWO YEARS. THE PROPOSALS WE DISCUSSED AND SMITH ACCEPTED ALLOWED FOR THE DESIGNATION OF AN AFRICAN CHIEF MINISTER
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AND AN AFRICAN MAJORITY ON THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. THE COUNCIL OF STATE IS COMPOSED IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE AFRICAN MEMBERS EXERCISE AN EFFECTIVE VETO OVER THAT BODY'S DELIBERATION. IT WAS NOT OUR INTENTION TO MAINTAIN OR LEGITIMIZE THE PRESENT STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT IN SALISBURY. WE NEGOTIATED A FRAMEWORK WHICH IS BOUND TO RESULT IN THE UNDOING OF THAT STRUCTURE IN A MATTER OF MONTHS. ALL THAT CAN KEEP SMITH IN POWER NOW IS FAILURE OF THE AFRICAN PRESI-

DENTS TO BRING ABOUT RAPIDLY A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT.

9. I LOOK FORWARD TO STAYING IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH YOU IN
THE COMING WEEKS. WE MUST BOTH WORK TO MAKE SURE THAT

POSTURES TAKEN IN PUBLIC DO NOT UNDERMINE A SUCCESSFUL
OUTCOME. I KNOW YOU AGREE WITH ME ON THE IMPORTANCE OF
THIS OBJECTIVE. WITH WARM REGARDS, HENRY A. KISSINGER.
UNQUOTE.

KISSINGER

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NNN

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To: GABORONE
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